

THE PRO-SLAVERY REBELLION. FROM WASHINGTON.

GETTING-OUT ON TO DRY LAND.
THE BACK OF COMPROMISE BROKEN—THE BORDER SLAVE STATES.

From Our Special Correspondent.

WASHINGTON, March 1, 1861.
We are getting out of the surf, and are climbing toward the dry rock. If no bad wave washes us back again, we shall escape. We have been beating about so long among the fog and breakers of compromise, that it is a relief to see an open channel again, and behold the sun burning through the clouds. We had no business amid dangers that have environed our path. Nothing but bad pilotage ever took us upon the treacherous shoals and ledges where we have barely escaped foundering.

The back of compromise I believe to be broken. Our amiable and innocent opponents who have so modestly sought to get possession of a Republican administration and surrender its creators and natural supporters to the tender mercies of their dire enemies are foiled in their purposes. It raises a blush to think there was ever any ground afforded for the hope that such a scandalous enterprise was possible.

"Let this safe maxim be my virtue's guide:
He comes too near who comes to be denied."

If the Republican party has escaped seduction, it has not been because it has not been taken down to the Five Points of politics and subjected to temptations. But the virtue of the party has been too great for its bawls. And by these let me not be understood as meaning gentlemen who have simply engaged in holding out the olive-branch of conciliation and good-will, but those who have said what they could and have done what they could to insinuate their virtue and to make it yield to the insolent demand of those who have looked upon it as only a victim to be savished.

The representatives of the Republican States in the Peace Convention who have voted for the measures which finally passed that body, are examples of the class I refer to. They have gone and consented to capitulate to the men, and the interests, and the party, whom the Republicans defeated—fairly defeated—in the Presidential election. And they may, if they will, already see what thanks they get for their treachery and perfidy. The Virginia Secessionists who were in the Convention, and others who were not, are just as arrogant, and imperious, and revolutionary as the South Carolina traitors themselves; and they have gone home only to denounce the surrender of the North made in Convention as not sufficiently complete and unconditional. The leaders who have been so very clamorous for concession and compromise in the Border Slave States, are just those men who have not intended to be satisfied with anything less than the absolute undoing of the Presidential election, and the promise of the North never to do so any more. They have demanded, and do demand, not only the virtual extinction of the Republican party, but the unqualified abdication and surrender of the position of the entire Douglas Democracy. The audacity of their claims surpasses anything in the past history of our politics. And it is idle, and worse than idle, and has been so from the start, to stoop to consider them. To do it, involved a humiliation of conduct that entitled the party, of whom the demands were made, to nothing better than the contempt of those who insulted it with those demands. And it would seem that everybody might have recognized the fact long ago. But now that even withered politicians like John Tyler, have gone down, fresh and warm from their seats in the Convention, only to spit upon and execrate the very platform which they have built, by the aid of timid and hollow Republicans, one would think that nobody can longer doubt as to the real purposes of these Border Slave State Secessionists. Everybody must now see that what these disreputable of the peace of the country meant, and the least they meant, was that all the Northern political organizations—Douglas men, Bell men, and Lincoln men—should succumb before their railing imperiousness, and accept the terms touched by them and their revolutionary confederates in arms.

Perhaps the lesson may have its use, and good come of it. Some animals are born with their eyes open, but some require a nine days' pupillage. Let us cherish the hope that all Republicans, even those who are so from the dictates of self-interest only, may soon see that there is but one course open to the Administration, that promises success; and that is the exercise of the legitimate powers of the Government in the direct line of their principles. This is clear and solid ground, that every Republican, and every Democrat, and all the world, can understand and will appreciate. It is the path of duty, it is the path of honor, it is the path of prudence, it is that will alone save the Government, and we believe it is the path of triumphant success. But whether this prove to be so or not, must be left to time and event to determine. It is enough for a party and an administration to command success. It is beyond their power to command it. But it is scandalous to attempt to win success by ceasing to deserve it. None of the concessions of position or principle that have been so strongly urged upon Mr. Lincoln and the Republican party can be made, consistently with these views; and it is consoling to think that we have reached, or are about reaching, the authoritative assurance that they are not to be made. The argument that yielding the territory south of 36° 30' to slavery is only to yield a barren victory to the slaveholders, is of the same insidious type, and as old as that used by the devil in the garden of Eden. The mischief does not so much consist in the thing itself as in the endless train of evil consequences that will follow. But if it be true that slavery will not go there under any circumstances, why demand the concession that it shall? Are we answered, that it is merely to satisfy a point of honor? Then we reply that this is calling upon us to concede a principle on an empty requirement. There is quite as much propriety in our insisting upon standing by our principles, as there is in demanding that we shall surrender them to satisfy a mere point of honor raised by somebody else. If, on the other hand, the concession is demanded as a matter of right, involving substance, then we say, that opens the whole question just argued and decided in our favor, by a constitutional and peaceable method. For that point we have contended, as one of vast importance, and have obtained the verdict of the people. And now ask to be allowed to enjoy its legitimate fruits.

The position herein defined is also, the best one upon which to go before the Border Slave States. It affords ample standing ground to everybody except the deliberate traitors and revolutionists, who are bent upon tearing the Union to pieces and destroying the Government, and who do not want to be composed on any terms. These men can be quieted in no other way than by defeating and humiliating them. And this is the office of the people of the Border Slave States themselves. They have to work out their own salvation. If they prefer Secession and War to Union and Peace, with every disposition on the part of the Republican Administration to give them as good and as safe a Government, in every respect, as they have had for three-fourths of a century, and even new guards and privileges, then they will so decide. But on considering that question, the best thing they can do is to decide also the fate of their traitors along with it. And the attitude of the Republican party, as herein characterized and advocated, is just that which will enable them to do that thing decisively. If those States do not mean Secession, it is absolutely essential to the stability of the Government at the present juncture that we should have some votes therein to show the fact, and that mean something else.

FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE CLIMAX AT FORT SUMTER.
COERCION HUMILIATING—MORE STRANGE RUMORS ABOUT MAJOR ANDERSON—WILL HE RESIGN?

From Our Own Correspondent.

CHARLESTON, S. C., Feb. 28, 1861.

Within four days from the date hereof, Abraham Lincoln will be inaugurated President. To nobody is the event of more interest than to the Rebels, who, for many months, have occupied a position of armed hostility to the Federal Government, defying its authority, and making ready for a trial of strength. Notwithstanding all they say, I fancy that to them the present is much like the last week of a culprit sentenced to the gallows. Each day brings them nearer to something definitive. Not only they, but the country and the world, are about to see the end of this state of things, which Mr. Buchanan's Administration, for no higher motives than to throw upon the incoming Administration the questions involved, have protracted so long. The whole thing is in a nutshell, admitting neither of circumlocution nor delay. The Rebels demand the evacuation of Fort Sumter. Mr. Lincoln's Administration must either surrender or defend the Fort. This is the precise point, for nothing is more certain than that if not surrendered the Rebels will take it if they can. Which ought Mr. Lincoln to do? Fort Sumter is Federal property as well as Fort Moultrie, and much other similar property in the forcible possession of the Rebels. This was confessed by the Rebels when they offered to pay for what they had stolen, and to open negotiations for the purchase of what Major Anderson would not let them steal. If this property did not belong to the Federal Government, why did they talk about paying Government for it, or about negotiating at all with the Federal Government in regard to it? Fort Sumter, then, being Federal property, why should not Mr. Lincoln refuse to give it up, and defend it, and why should he not proceed to reclaim that which has been stolen? These are the questions which the Rebels are putting to themselves; that every rational man is putting to himself; and it is because there can be but one answer that the Rebels contemplate the passing of each day with peculiar interest.

I know not what grave considerations of policy may influence the action of Government in deciding these questions, nor what may arise to postpone a decision. But judging from this standpoint, which, it may be said, is not favorable to unbiased conclusions, there can be but one course for the incoming Administration to pursue, and that is to defend Fort Sumter with the whole strength of the Government, and treat the other Federal property in rebel hands just as men the world over treat stolen property. Had this question, as an illustration, or as a supposition, been placed before the country at any time before the last six months, "what would have been the response of every man not already a rebel at heart?" The universal response would have been, the Federal Government must at all hazards protect its own property, and enforce the Federal laws. No sane man ever before pretended that such a course would be coercion, any more than it would be coercion to enforce the laws against the highway robber. To undertake to compel South Carolina to maintain a representation in Congress, to keep up Federal Courts, and her citizens to fill Federal offices, would unquestionably be coercion. To that extent a State may get out of the Union and keep out, and the Government could not coerce her in. It would be a matter of her own choosing, though opposed to the spirit of the Federal compact; the consequences would fall on herself, and the other States would have little to complain of if she was satisfied. Not so as to the revenue laws, on which all the States, as parts of the Union, alike subsist. It is something due from the Government toward every State to enforce them. While the head of a family may not coerce a member to eat or drink against his or her will, he may exert his authority in all matters that relate to the welfare and protection of the other members, and all alike must come under federal authority.

The question is, will Mr. Lincoln exercise this authority. Rather, is there any such thing as escape from his sworn duty to protect the public property and enforce the laws? Who says that when Fort Sumter is attacked he ought not to defend it? As to Fort Moultrie, and other stolen property, a postponement of the exercise of authority to reclaim it would in no measure alienate that right, and would be merely a question of policy. Mr. Buchanan laid down the only true rule, though he did not live up to it, as to the revenue laws, and that is, so long as they remained the laws of the land they must be enforced, and that it mattered little whether the Custom-House was on shore or at the mouth of the Harbor. As to this, Government may, doubtless, consult its convenience. Will Mr. Lincoln establish here a different interpretation of his duty, and will he not be more prompt in doing it?

The logical conclusion is that collision is inevitable, and that, too, soon; that Fort Sumter will be defended by the Federal Government if suppose is no more to be doubted than that it will be attacked by the Rebels. In view of such a conclusion, it is impossible to contemplate the condition in which the Federal Government finds itself. The successful defense

of Fort Sumter contemplates immediate reinforcements. This, by no means, will prove the least formidable undertaking. From the outset of this business, the error of the Federal Government has been in not accepting the Rebels to mean what they said. When they said they intended to possess all the forts in Charleston Harbor, it was not believed, at least Federal action was as though it was not. When they said they would drive Major Anderson out, Government was equally skeptical. When they said they would not permit Major Anderson to be reinforced, Government did not believe it, before it was proven by the driving back of the Star of the West. Whether Government believes that the Rebels mean what they say, and are prepared to make their word good, when they declare that reinforcements shall never be landed at Fort Sumter, remains to be seen. To say that the reinforcing of Major Anderson is impossible, would be absurd; but to say that by their batteries and other provisions for resistance, the Rebels had not rendered such an undertaking an exceedingly difficult one, to be accomplished only by accepting the present attitude of things as that of actual war in its full proportions, would be but to assert the truth. South Carolina has meant nothing less—does not now—and for months, with a singleness of purpose truly rare; at a large expense of money, and the incessant labor of from three to four thousand men, directed by as good skill as the country affords, she has been preparing to make good her position. These things, more than the valor of the Carolinians, should not be too lightly estimated. When the Government undertook the Star of the West enterprise, it too lightly estimated the enemy that was to be met. I do not believe that the country is destined to witness another failure, though to insure success the expedition must be formidable, and planned to operate by land as well as by water, for I venture an opinion, probably of but little value in high professional quarters, that boats will not reach Fort Sumter before several formidable batteries on both sides of the harbor are silenced. How this is to be done without marching strong columns in the rear, and how troops are to be landed in the face of other batteries (for the Rebels here contemplated and provided for all these contingencies), are questions, with many others, for those to decide on whom the responsibility rests.

In a letter from this city sometime in the week following the Star of the West affair, I referred to certain rumors then about, proceeding from high quarters, which assigned to Maj. Anderson ultimately, a part in the drama of Fort Sumter, that did not square with the generally received notions of honor and patriotism. I have frequently since asserted my disbelief in all such rumors, and given them no other thought than as base lies on a brave and meritorious officer. From time to time I have met these rumors, so much in the mouths of idle gossippers, as of men of an opposite standing. Indeed, one gentleman, in the confidence of the rebel chiefs, proceeded at length to detail the reasons why Maj. Anderson would never fight the South when ordered, even to the number of half a dozen States, into an independent Confederacy. A great many reasons were given, beside some unspoken ones hinted at, unnecessary to repeat now; but which appeared to be more satisfactory to him (and to the leading rebels also, as he averred), than to me.

Within the last few days the upshot of these rumors have been revived, and the Mercury gives them embodiment in the following shape: "NOT IMPROBABLE.—It was currently rumored upon the streets yesterday that Major Anderson and Lieutenants Davis and Talbot, of the garrison of Fort Sumter, would, on the 4th instant, resign their commissions in the United States Army, and retire from the fort."

The gentlemen spoken of in connection with Major Anderson, Lieutenants Talbot and Davis, are experienced and tried officers. The former is from Kentucky, the latter from Indiana. The officer second in command in Fort Sumter is Capt. Doubleday, who is a native of New York. His father now resides in the City of Brooklyn. He is a capable officer and particularly obnoxious to the Rebels.

Gov. Pickens has commissioned the following officers, deserters from the flag of their country:

Capt. N. G. Evans, late of the United States Army, Adjutant-General of the regular forces of South Carolina.

Capt. Northrop, late of the United States Army, Paymaster-General of the regular forces of South Carolina. Mr. Northrop was a close associate of President Davis, and a graduate of West Point.

FROM MARYLAND.

VOLCANIC WEATHER—MR. BUCHANAN AND HIS MILITARY ESCORT.

From Our Own Correspondent.

BALTIMORE, March 2, 1861.

Such Summer weather at the opening of March has never been seen by the oldest inhabitant hereabouts. My own judgment is that it is due to volcanic and not solar heat. So look out for a tremblement de terre in some quarter of the earth's surface about this time.

A split has taken place, they say, between Gov. Hicks and Winter Davis, about the offices which a Republican President is to distribute. This is amusing, to say the least of it, to outsiders in this quarter, seeing that Lincoln and Hamlin had no more violent opponents anywhere than in those two gentlemen.

The City Guard, a volunteer military organization of this city, are to escort Mr. Buchanan from Washington to his home at Wheatland. It is right, of course, for a Democratic traitor to the Federal Government, to be conducted to his home by a military escort, in order to overawe the people from expressing their detestation of his treason, but it would be offensive to the sympathizers with rebellion, for Mr. Lincoln to be attended by his friends to assume the reins of Government!

The City Guard, it is whispered, intend to visit Washington to-morrow morning, to be present at the inauguration. Gen. Scott will, no doubt, assign them a proper place in the ceremonies, if they should go. Their sympathies are fully understood.

The Ins of the Federal offices in Maryland are comforting themselves with the hope that Mr. Lincoln will not disturb them for a year to come. May be so, and may be not. If they can get a year's respite, there is no reason why they may not have a four years' one.

The rumor of Winter Davis's appointment to the Cabinet was a precious morsel to our Bell friends, who had an eye upon the public crib. Their States bore the following names: A. R. Bradford for Collector, Judge Lennox Bond for Post-Office, J. Bond, Chaplain for Naval Office, and James R. Partridge for Surveyor. The Republicans were to be utterly ignored!

We are now threatened with Secession by the disappointed office-seekers, but the people are ready for the question, let it come when it may.

As between Judge Blair and Winter Davis for Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, the Republicans of Maryland have but one voice, and that is for Blair, though the first choice of the majority of them was for Judge William L. Marshall, the nephew of the late Chief Justice. But they are not factious, and will stand by Judge Blair should he be selected.

The news just arrived of the refusal of Captain Hill to surrender Fort Brown, and of his design to recapture certain of the Federal property, has given a rare flip of interest to matters, for a collision in that quarter will precipitate public opinion with no little rapidity in favor of the Federal power just at this juncture.

The card of the President of the Police Board, in relation to the course of that body on the occasion of Mr. Lincoln's passage through Baltimore, has swamped the Marshal of Police in a mass of contradictions. Mr. Howard assures us that the power of the Police Board was perfectly adequate to the task of protecting the President-elect from any insult or assault, and would have been used to its full extent.

The movement of Gov. Seward for a National Convention, as a substitute for the One-House Congress amendment to the Constitution, meets with the general approval of all considerate men in this quarter, simply because it draws the teeth out of Secessionism, and gives time for reflection.

XXXVTH CONGRESS.

SECOND SESSION.

SENATE....WASHINGTON, March 3, 1861.

SUNDAY NIGHT'S PROCEEDINGS CONTINUED.

[Our report of the Senate debate, in the Monday morning edition, was taken in the midst of the remarks of Mr. MOKILL (Rep. Me.). The continuation is as follows.]

He referred to the fact that Virginia sent an ultimatum to the Government, and then herself for the purpose of armed intervention between the Government and the States in rebellion, and argued that under such circumstances Senators ought not to present propositions here for our acceptance. He contended that the attitude of Virginia was an act of menace.

Mr. WADE (Rep., Ohio) said he had once stated his position, and led to say he was of the same opinion. He said he had heard of revolution, but the present one was an extraordinary one. It was rebellion against the best government in the world. Nothing in the world ever instituted such rebellion except the secured institution which they now sought to extend. He contended that the progress of the revolution is the progress of despotism, and nothing makes the principles of the Free States stand out so clearly as the fact that they are leaving us because despotism cannot exist in our midst. Our complaint is not that we have a free press and free speech, and love liberty too well. The difficulty is that you cannot exert a despotism in the Free States.

When you talk of going out of the Union and coming back, and reconstructing it, if you reconstruct it on a basis so to harmonize and uphold your system, you must first reconstruct the throne of God, and change the laws of nature. He contended that the change against the Republicans was all unjust and unfounded, and that Secession amounts simply to the assertion that the States have a right to make war on the General Government, but that the General Government has not the right to defend itself. If the doctrine of Mr. Wade is correct, which was bought for the purpose of the defense of the country, may join herself to a foreign country, and turn our guns against us, and how long is it since gentlemen stood up here and asserted the Monroe doctrine. Oh, ghost of General Jackson, what you think of modern democracy! A State could also secede, and turn her guns against her own country. A Government founded on such principles is no Government at all. He proceeded to argue that all the trouble has grown out of the repeal of the old compromise, and now brought the Union to the verge of dissolution and destruction. He contended that the whole country was full of disaster and ruin, yet we are asked to take still another, worse than all the rest. The remedy is in the good old Constitution made by our fathers. He would stand by that Constitution, and saw no place where it needed amendment. Nobody intends to interfere with the right of secession, but he intended to do it, yet we are asked to give new guarantees; but he believed the South would deprive the men who allowed guarantees to be wrung from them in such a way. We must come back to the old ark of safety, the Constitution, and to the old compromise. The proposed compromise is no compromise at all. The proposed compromise is no compromise at all. The proposed compromise is no compromise at all.

A motion was here made to adjourn, when the Speaker rose, amid marked silence, and delivered the following address:

THE SPEAKER'S ADDRESS.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

We have now arrived at the close of the XXXVth Congress. During its progress scenes of an extraordinary character have been witnessed. Several States have seceded, and all their members, with one exception, have left the Hall.

No lover of his country can witness such an exhibition without feelings of the deepest anxiety. As you are all so deeply interested in the result of the vote on the proposed compromise, I have been permitted to deviate from the established practice by entering into discussion on the floor. Indeed, demands upon the time of the Chair are sufficient in its view without, and it is wise that the Speaker should not be entangled in the conflicts of debate. You will permit me, therefore, before parting, to say publicly many things which I have ever been anxious to say, and which I trust will remain a devoted friend of the Union of the States, and favorable to any just and liberal compromise. The report of the Committee of Thirty-three of this House met my cordial approval, and I have never hesitated to declare my belief that it was the best of all the proposals for a compromise. During its progress scenes of an extraordinary character have been witnessed. Several States have seceded, and all their members, with one exception, have left the Hall.

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Mr. BRIGHT moved an Executive session